

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W

----- 041159

R 261944Z JUN 74 ZFF-6

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1252

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRUSSELS 4584

EXDIS

SECTO 33

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (NIXON, RICHARD M.)

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF NAC PLENARY DISCUSSION, JUNE 26, 1974

1. TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S OPENING STATEMENT TO NAC IS BEING  
SENT SEPTTEL. HERE FOLLOWS SUMMARY OF REMARKS OF OTHER  
PARTICIPANTS, AND CLOSING REMARKS BY PRESIDENT.

2. SYG LUNS OPENED MEETING BY WELCOMING PARTICIPANTS.  
COMING JUST AFTER OTTAWA MINISTERIAL AND JUST BEFORE PRESIDENT'S  
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VISIT TO MOSCOW, MEETING WAS MOST ELOQUENT EXPRESSION

OS WISH OF ALLIANCE FOR CONSULTATION. HE THEN INTRODUCED PRESIDENT NIXON WHO SPOKE FIRST. (SEPTTEL)

3. ITALIAN PREMIER RUMOR FOLLOWED PRESIDENT BY REAFFIRMING THAT ALLIANCE WAS IRREPLACEABLE LINK THAT UNITED US. ITS FOUNDATION WAS FAITH IN DEMOCRATIC VALUES, OUR UNITY, AND FINALLY THE CONVICTION THAT THE EUROPEAN UNION THAT WOULD BE CREATED WOULD MAKE A VALID CONTRIBUTION. PRESIDENT'S MISSION TO MOSCOW WOULD BE DIFFICULT, BUT MADE EASIER BY SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATED HERE BY SIGNING DECLARATION. ITALY SAW DETENTE AS AN IRREVERSIBLE PHENOMENON, BUT EAST-WEST DIALOGUE HAD TO TAKE PLACE IN CLEAR KNOWLEDGE OF CONDITIONS. DETENTE ALSO SHOULD CORRESPOND TO NEW FORMS OF HUMAN RELATIONS ON THE CONTINENT; ALTHOUGH IT MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE SPECIAL STATUS OF EUROPE SINCE 1945, IT MUST NOT CRYSTALIZE DIVISION OF EUROPE. FREE EXCHANGE OF, PERSONS, IDEAS, TECHNOLOGY, AND INFORMATION HAD TO BE ALLOWED.

4. UK PM WILSON COMPARED CURRENT SUCCESS BEING CELEBRATED TO DEEP ANXIETIES FELT 25 YEARS BEFORE. THE WAY AHEAD FOR ALL OF US LAY IN POSITIVE PURPOSES, WHICH CHURCHILL HAD ONCE DESCRIBED TO WILSON AS "EASEMENT" OF RELATIONS. HE ADDED THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT BE MEETING HERE NOR WOULD HAVE SURVIVED IF WE DID NOT HAVE SUPPORT OF OUR PARLIAMENTS. HE URGED GOVERNMENTS TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE MEANS WHEREBY OUR ELECTED PARLIAMENTS COULD ADD THAT NECESSARY DEMOCRATIC DIMENSION TO OUR ENDEAVOR.

5. FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT STRESSED ECONOMIC STRAINS FACING ALLIANCE, VIZ., INFLATION, INCREASING PRICES OF IOL AND RAW MATERIALS, AND UNPRECEDENTED PAYMENTS DEFICITS IN MEMBER COUNTRIES AND THIRD WORLD. HE FEARED DANGEROUS CYCLE OF INFLATION, RESTRICTIVE MEASURES, UNEMPLOYMENT AND RECESSION, WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY LEAD TO GREAT STRAIN IN INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUCTURES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. SCHMIDT SAW THIS AS GREATER DANGER NOW THAN MILITARY PROBLEMS, AND

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FEARED GENERAL LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE DANGER.

6. DANISH PM HARTLING SAW DECLARATION AS IMPORTANT POLITICAL MANIFESTATION. HE AGREED WITH WHAT HAD BEEN SAID ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF EUROPEAN UNITY TO AIMS OF ALLIANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT MUST NEVER BE FORGOTTEN THAT ALLIANCE WAS CREATED TO DEFEND OUR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

HE EXPRESSED BEST WISHES TO PRESIDENT IN HIS ENDEAVORS.  
HE HOPED DETENTE WOULD BE GIVEN CONCRETE MEANING FOR  
THE INDIVIDUAL.

7. NETHERLANDS PM DEN UYL SAW MEETING AS WELCOME  
OPPORTUNITY TO PUT INTO PRACTICE DECLARATION PARA-  
GRAPH ELEVEN ON CLOSE AND TIMELY CONSULTATION. HE  
HOPED PRESIDENT'S EXAMPLE WOULD BE FOLLOWED. NETHER-  
LANDS SAW LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AS OF PRI-  
MORDIAL IMPORTANCE FOR WOULD STABILITY; HE HOPED TO  
SEE AGREEMENT TO LIMIT MIRVED ICBM'S AND TO TAKE STEP  
TOWARD COMPLETE TEST BAN. HE SAW CSCE AS PLACE WHERE  
WE WOULD DETERMINE NATURE OF RELATIONS TO EMERGE FROM  
CURRENT PROCESS OF DETENTE -- WHETHER NEW RELATIONS  
WOULD LEAD TO GREATER OPENNESS AND HUMAN UNDERSTANDING.  
HE CITED IMPORTANCE OF AID TO LDC'S AND MAINTAINING  
GOALS OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, AND JUSTICE.

8. PM ECEVIT OF TURKEY BELIEVED DECLARATION SHOWED  
ALLIANCE HAD MET ITS REAL TEST. EVEN WITHOUT ALLIANCE,  
NATIONS CAN JOIN AGAINST COMMON DANGER IN WAR; REAL  
TEST COMES IN PERIOD OF PEACE AND DETENTE. HE BE-  
LIEVED THAT ALLIANCE MUST HAVE UNIVERSAL MESSAGE AND  
MEANING; THERFORE HE WAS PLEASED TO SEE SUCH A MESSAGE  
IN DECLARATION, IM COMMITTMENT TO FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND  
SOCIAL PROGRESS. INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT FREEDOM WAS  
AN ABSTRACTION WITHOUT HUMAN MEANING. HE CONGRATU-  
LATED PRESIDENT AND SECSTATE FOR MIDEAST EFFORTS AND  
FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT FOR TIMELY WARNING ON ECONOMIC  
DANGER.

9. PAUL MARTIN, CANADIAN REP, CONGRATULATED PRESI-  
DENT AND SECRETARY FOR BOLDNESS AND IMAGINATION IN  
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NEW INITIATIVES -- IN PRC, SOVIET UNION, VIET-NAM, AND  
MIDEAST -- AND FOR CONSULTING NATO BEFORE MOSCOW  
SUMMIT. HE SAW PROBLEM IN DEFINING MEANING OF DETENTE.  
SOVIETS WAS IT AS CONFIRMING STATUS QUO, CAREFUL  
MANAGEMENT OF SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, ACCESS TO WESTERN  
TECHNOLOGY, AND GAINING FREEDOM TO DEAL WITH CHINA.  
WEST, HOWEVER, SAW RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS AS FRAGILE  
UNLESS UNDERPINNED BY GREATER UNDERSTANDING. THERE-  
FORE WE WERE PRESSING IN CSCE FOR GREATER HUMAN CON-  
TACTS, MOVEMENT, AND INFORMATION. HE HOPED PRESIDENT WOULD  
CONVEY THIS TO BREZHNEV.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W

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R 261944Z JUN 74 ZFF-6

FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1253

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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10. POTUGUESE PM DA PALMA CARLOS REITERATED IMPORTANCE HIS COUNTRY ATTACHED TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS. FAITHFUL TO PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY NEW DEMOCRATIC REGIME, PORTUGAL HAD ALREADY REACHED AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH USSR, ROMANIA, GDR, AND YUGOSLAVIA. LOYAL TO DETENTE POLICY WHICH WAS POLICY OF ALLIANCE, HE CONVEYED BEST WISHES TO PRESIDENT FOR TALKS IN MOSCOW WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE SO MUCH TO ALLIANCE OBJECTIVES.

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11. CHIRAC OF FRANCE REITERATED THAT FRANCE WAS FULL MEMBER OF ALLIANCE AND INTENDED SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVE OBLIGATIONS OF WASHINGTON TREATY. IN STRENGTHENING OWN DEFENSES, FRANCE FELT IT WAS STRENGTHENING DEFENSE OS ALLIANCE. THIS WAS IN NO WAY INCONSISTENT WITH THE WISH, WHICH HE WANTED TO REAFFIRM TODAY, TO REMAIN OUTSIDE THE INTEGRATED MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF NATO. NEW GENERATION WAS COMING ALONG FOR WHOM MEMORIES AND FEARS OF 1949 WERE BLURRED. NEVERTHELESS ALLIANCE REMAINED ESSENTIAL AND THERE COULD BE NO DETENTE WITHOUT SOLIDARITY. FRANCE WAS DETENTE AS LONG-TERM AND FRAGILE PROCESS. FRANCE WAS FULLY AWARE OF WHAT WAS AT STAKE IN US-SOVIET TALKS AND APPRECIATED BEING INFORMED BEFORE AND AFTER. HE HOPED MOSCOW SUMMIT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO DETENTE WORLDWIDE.

12. PREMIER ANDROUTSOPOULOS OF GREECE EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT HAPPY CONCLUSION OF DECLARATION ON WHAT INSPIRED OUR ALLIANCE. HE CITED PRINCIPLES OF SOLIDARITY IN DEFENSE, NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE EFFICIENCY IN DEFENSE, U.S. COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN FORCES IN EUROPE AND TO CONSULT, AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST, PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

13. THORSTEINSSON OF ICELAND SAID RECENT YEARS HAD SEEN MANY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS BUT LAST FEW MONTHS HAD BBON PERIOD OR RELATIVE STAGNATION. CSCE WAS EXAMPLE. THIS REMINDED US DETENTE IS FRAGILE PROCESS AND MADE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MOSCOW A TIMELY ONE. HE HOPED RESULTS WOULD SPEED UP DETENTE.

14. TINDEMANS, PM OF BELGIUM, HAILED PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO NAC AS MANIFESTATION OF SPIRIT WHICH MUST AND SHOULD INFORM OTTAWA DECLARATION. IMPORTANCE OF MOSCOW VISIT COULD NOT BE OVERESTIMATED. ON CSCE, HE SAW AGREEMENT ON NEED FOR COMMON POSITION ON LEVEL AND DATE OF THIRD PHASE. QUESTION WAS WHETHER CSCE REALLY CONTRIBUTED TO DETENTE OR WHETHER IT ONLY PROLONGED DIALOGUE UNDULY OR EVEN POISONED IT OR CALLED ITS AIMS INTO QUESTION. HE AGREED DETENTE WAS COMPLEX AND CONFIDENTIAL

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FRAGILELONG-TERM PROCESS. THIRD STAGE WOULD PROBABLY NOT BRING SPECTACULAR RESULTS, BUT ONLY A SPECTACULAR RESULT -- WHICH HE DIDN'T ENVISAGE, WOULD WARRANT AN EAST-WEST SUMMIT. WE COULD NOT YET FIX A DATE FOR THE THIRD STAGE. TINDEMANS ENDORSED MBFR AND WARNED

AGAINST UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS BY ANY NATO MEMBER.

15. BRATTELI, PM OF NORWAY, CITED THREE POINTS IN DECLARATION: THAT SOLIDARITY WAS KEY TO SECURITY, THAT CONSULTATION WAS ESSENTIAL FOR COOPERATION AND CONFIDENCE, AND THAT SECURITY AND SOLIDARITY WERE PREREQUISITES TO DETENTE. SMALL POWERS DID NOT WANT TO BE RULED BY SUPERPOWERS, BUT NEITHER DID THEY WANT TO SEE CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM. HE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ORDER TO COMMAND BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT IN PEACETIME; ONLY ON THIS BASIS COULD NATO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS OF SECURITY AND DETENTE.

16. THORN (PM OF LUXEMBOURG) AGREED WITH TINDEMANS THAT CSCE RESULTS SO FAR WERE UNSATISFACTORY AND DISAPPOINTING AND DID NOT WARRANT SUMMIT. WEST SHOULD INSIST ON SPEEDY DISCUSSIONS BUT THOROUGH STUDIES ON HUMAN CONTACTS QUESTION BEFORE DECIDING ON LEVEL.

17. PRESIDENT NIXON, IN REPLY, AGREED WITH SCHMIDT'S POINT ABOUT NECESSITY FOR COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC AREA -- IN WHICH HE INCLUDED ENERGY FIELD. COOPERATION IN THIS AREA WOULD BUILD SUPPORT IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES FOR COOPERATION IN SECURITY AREA. OUR VIEW OF DETENTE INCLUDED NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT COMMUNIST LEADERS' CONTINUED DRIVE AND DEDICATION TO THEIR GOALS. THEY WOULD BE DRAWN BY THEIR INTERESTS INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH U.S. AND OTHER ALLIES; THEREFORE OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO GIVE THEM STAKE IN AVOIDING ARMS RACE AND IN COOPERATIVE RELATIONS IN VARIOUS FIELDS. THEY WOULD BE DRAWN TO WEST NOT BY DECLARATIONS BUT BY OUR SOLIDARITY ON SECURITY SIDE. A HOPEFUL PERIOD LIKE THE PRESENT CONTAINED ITS OWN DANGERS, SUCH AS THAT COMMUNIST FORCES IN WORLD WOULD INEVITABLY GAIN IN RESPECTABILITY IN ALL OUR COUNTRIES. BUT PRESIDENT WAS CONFIDENT THAT, BECAUSE LEADERS

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WERE AWARE OF THE DANGER, WE WOULD MEET THEM. KISSINGER

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## Message Attributes

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